1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

565 called the Ulad el Hani, claim Arab origin, although they are plainly Negroid, and speak
563 Arabic domestically, employing *thamaṛight* only with outsiders. They are at present con-
463 sidered the best smiths in the Rif.

While the four groups of smiths just mentioned are all sedentary, the smiths to the east and the west are often journeymen, going in winter to the encampments of Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi, who have no local craftsmen, and to villages of Beni Urriaghel, Gaennaya, and Beni Amart to set up shop. These immigrant smiths are distinguished from the local ones of long standing by the fact that they send home for their women and keep up a permanent connection with their home bases. They are considered by the villagers as temporary residents.

All the smiths, both sedentary and itinerant, have certain tasks and duties. They must go to Melilla or to Fes from time to time to buy iron. This gives them an opportunity to see something of the outside world and to become more sophisticated than most of their social superiors. They go to markets, in which they set up shop and shoe horses and mules brought to them; they are given complete charge of the secular slaughtering of domestic animals.

765 At this point a distinction might be made between the various types of slaughtering.
563 Although the technique is the same in all cases, except with wild animals killed in hunting,
463 the sentiment differs widely. Sacrificing, or killing an animal at a religious feast, at a house-
554 building, or as an act of magical compulsion in warfare, is an honorable task and must not
782 be performed by one of the Shameless Ones. This is the duty of the father of the household, the head of the *vein*, or of the schoolmaster of the *bone*, according to how large a group is concerned. It is highly desirable in any case that it be done by a literate man. The flaying and cutting up of game is subject to no restrictions as to person, the hunter usually doing it himself. The slaughtering and flaying of domestic animals for consumption alone, without religious or magical connotation, is considered a shameful and unclean task, to be performed by a man of good standing only when he cannot find one of the Shameless Ones to do it for him.

565 **Pipers,**[1] or *imṭhiyasen* (singular *amṭhiyas*), play upon the *summar*, a reed instrument
463 consisting of double pipes of cane, with numerous stops and with a fixed bass, and ending
534 in the horns of the soudad. They are as debased as the smiths, if not more so. The pipers are concentrated at Sidi Bu Daud and Sidi Shaib of Temsaman, Bu Hfora and Meidhar of Beni Tusin, Ighza Urieri and Mauru of Beni Said, Anual and Sidi Misaud of Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Nador, Azgangen, and Suk el Arbaa of Beni Sidel.

They wander over a wide territory, playing at weddings and other festivals. The area
565 covered by them in pursuit of trade may be seen on the map entitled Marriage Traits No. 2
463 (p. 137); under the topic of weddings[2] their functions will be discussed more fully. Their social position is if anything lower than that of the blacksmiths, and whereas the latter are sometimes trusted and in a way respected, musicians never are. Neither are allowed any part in the government.

Market Criers[3] and **Weighers,** *iberraḥen* (singular *aberraḥ*) and *ishequiren* (singular *ashequir*), who form the third class of Shameless Ones, both come from the same families,

[1] So translated here because of their profession.

[2] See below, p. 138 seq.

[3] The ordinary meaning is "public criers." I have given them the English equivalent "market criers" because the market is their seat of operation.

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565 from the villages of Ifergugen and Ibettoyen of the Beni Tuzin. They wander all over the Rif, establishing themselves temporarily near markets, in which they perform their duties.
463 There is one of each profession settled within convenient distance of each circle of markets in each tribe or group of tribes. Being strictly endogamous, they send home to Ifergugen and Ibettoyen for their women; they cannot even intermarry with other Shameless Ones.

Although agriculture is considered the most dignified and worthy of occupations, skilled
554 trades such as those of carpenter, weaver (where weaving is done by men), gunsmith, powder-maker, and professional mason are not despised. A man plying one of these trades does not ostracize his family by so doing, or prevent his daughters from marrying into good families. Such trades are not hereditary as are the occupations of the despised castes.

563 The social position of the Jews is not comparable to that of any other group living in the Rif. The Jews, while living in the places settled by them, such as Galiya and Beni Bu Frah, form distinct colonies which in the past were not often molested. Jews going into other regions could formerly do so only under the protection of some important man in that place. The patron of the Jew considered the Jew as his bondsman or slave, while the Jew regarded the contract as merely a commercial one. The Jew was allowed to work at some trade, but must turn his receipts in to his patron, who gave him his food and lodging and a certain amount of money besides. The patron was held responsible for the Jew's safety and protected him against aggressors. Even under this type of contract Jews were able to enter only such marginal regions as Jebarna of Gsennaya, Ajdir, and, under the aegis of the Ikhemrijen, Targuist. They would not venture, in recent times at least, into the mountains of southern Beni Urriaghel, into northern Gsennaya, or into Beni Amart. For one to do so would have resulted in his death. The Riffians, in common with other Mohammedans, consider it a desecration of gunpowder to shoot Jews, killing them only with stones and knives. Since the Spanish and French occupations the rôle of the Jew has of course changed. He is at present allowed to go to markets to trade, and is not ordinarily molested.

567 Negro slaves are so rare in the Rif that it can almost be said that Riffians do not recognize the existence of slavery. The Ikhemrijen of Targuist have several, and one is owned in Ajdir. There may be others, but I have not seen or heard of them.

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CHAPTER XI

CRISES IN THE LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

128 Sociologists commonly recognize three major crises in the life of each individual: birth, puberty, and death.[1] Besides these major or biological crises they recognize others which lack direct biological importance, but are nevertheless sociologically of interest: naming, circumcision, and marriage. In the Rif, the first haircut should be added to the list and puberty subtracted, since no recognizable rite of passage is used to conduct the adolescent into the state of manhood or of womanhood.

In discussing these crises, my object is not so much to present a detailed picture of the ceremonies which accompany them as to work out a thorough plan of distribution for the various elements in each rite, in order to determine, where possible, the origins and relative antiquity of the various factors.

BIRTH

844 When a woman is considered to be within three days of the expiration of her term of pregnancy, the other women of her household go to the cantonal mosque and there hire a student to make out a charm which will help facilitate the birth. This charm is written, and the writing, soaked off the paper in warm water, is given the mother to drink. Care is taken to see that no knots are tied in the mother's clothing, and she is not allowed to work nor take any strenuous exercise during the last few days of her pregnancy.

On the actual day of the delivery, two midwives take charge of the situation, expelling the men of the family from the room in which the birth is to take place. One of the midwives sits on the floor, and holds the mother in her lap, in a posture half way between sitting and lying, and the mother meanwhile pulls on a rope which has been suspended from the rafters. The woman underneath her grasps her about the abdomen with both hands, helping thus to expel the child.

The Riffians explain the presence of the midwife underneath the mother by saying that it is shameful for a woman to bear a child while lying on the floor, since that is the manner of cattle.

While the mother is hanging by the rope, and the midwife under her is compressing her abdomen, the second midwife busies herself with the details of the actual delivery. When the child has been born, this second midwife cuts its umbilical cord with a pair of scissors, and afterwards goes outside, taking care not to be seen, and buries the afterbirth, the umbilical cord, and the scissors in a hidden place, which she is bound never to reveal, lest some enemy find the remains and with them wreak baleful magic upon the child.

844 The midwife who delivers the child and cuts the umbilical cord, and to a lesser extent
● 554 her assistant, who does the heavier if cruder part of the work, is held in especial esteem by the child in its later life. The child may later even address the midwife as "mother," and

[1] A. M. Tozzer, *Social Origins and Social Continuities*, pp. 86–89.

[P122]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

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[845]

care for her as he would for his real mother. Midwifery is both an honorable and a charitable profession; midwives are respected by everyone, and receive no fees for their work.

The birth of twins is considered a great felicity.

If the mother is found to lack sufficient milk for suckling her child, another woman, usually of the same *bone*, takes charge of its feeding. The foster-mother is later considered by the child as an alternate mother, and marriage between a child and a foster child of the same woman is considered incestuous and is forbidden.

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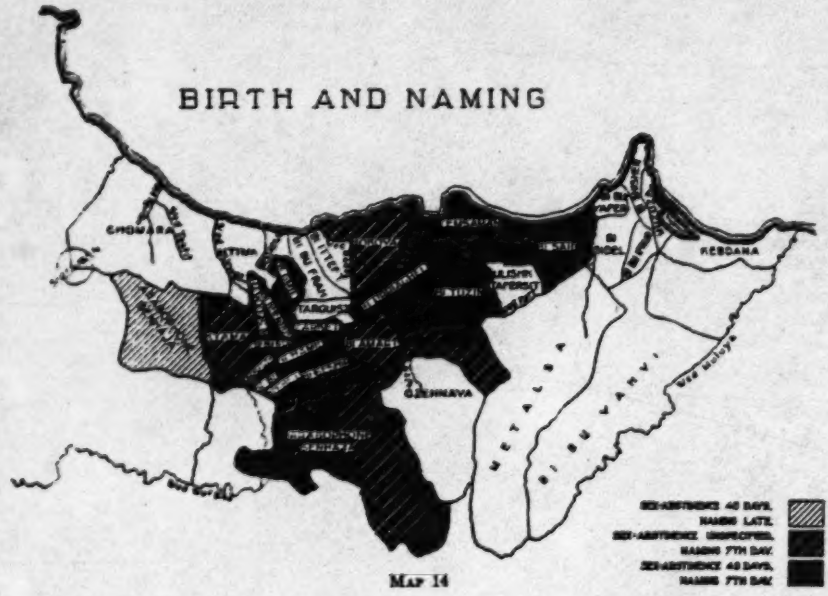

MAP 14

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Let us return to the father, who has been unceremoniously bundled out of the room. When news of the impending birth has been spread abroad, the entire adult population of the *bone* comes to the house, the women going into the actual birth chamber, and the men joining the father in another room or, if the house contain but a single room, in the courtyard.

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Before the assembled men, the father sacrifices a sheep or goat, the meat of which is put on the fire to stew. In the meanwhile the father produces a large bowl of *sekru*, which has been awaiting this moment, and the guests eat this with despatch. When they have finished this first course the stew made from the sacrificial animal is served. When this is over the father serves tea.

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This meal, which usually is served during the afternoon, suffices until night, when two others are served. These are necessary, because the men sit up all night firing off guns, in

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1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

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Bu tha'arur	hunchback
Bu thumaghth	possessor of a single ear
Athagheir	one-eyed
Amarsu	wounded in leg or arm
Koshih	hand will not open or shut

5. *Referring to habit and occupation, and miscellaneous:*

Thahowat	midwife
Beleghai	stingy (literally, dry)
Amaragiw	bad, naughty
Bu kiur	wears long hair
Sheikh	musician (also applied to actors in the Carnival)
Harrami	crafty, tricky
Bu rezza	weaver of a large turban
Bu shaazza	cultivator of many *shaazas*
Derras	weaver (with the horizontal loom)
Bu ghiur	owner (literally father) of a donkey
Akenniny	rabbit, implying fast runner
Shaitan	demon, bad boy, brigand
Bu selmat	left-handed
Aowas	old man
Isben	twin
Oshun	wolf, jackal, crafty

Besides the names which have a religious significance or secular Arabic derivation, such as the *hmd* group, Ali and its derivative Hari, Amar, 'Omar, Abd el Kadher, Mimun, etc., there exists a body of names without known meaning, and said to be of ancient usage. Such are Abekri (plural Ibkretin), Windish (plural Indishen), Belash, Khartit, Wiginas, Asbor. These names are said to date from pagan times, and may be derived from earlier languages or from an extinct form of Berber speech.

Besides the name given in infancy and the nickname (which may be given at any time and is the most common appellation of the individual) there is the patronymic or matronymic, used only on formal occasions, such as the drawing up of documents by the clerk. A man's formal name is his given name, plus the name of his father, and a woman's is her given name plus the name of her father. The idea of *son* is either left to the imagination or expressed by the genitive particle *n* or the filial particle *th*. The filial particle *u*, typical of the Braber, is not frequently used in the Rif, except in names of social groupings.

When an ancestor of a certain *sein* or even *bone* has left a reputation which his descendants wish to perpetuate, his name, no matter how remote he may have been, is placed at the end after the patronymic. Such is the case, for example, with the families of Indishen and Oshannen, who have virtually acquired family names in the European sense.

Although the Riffians are regularly patronymic, matronymy is found under certain set conditions. If a child's mother is noted for some skilled accomplishment, the child is called "So-and-so the son of the midwife," or whatever she happens to be. Besides midwives, female doctors and women who habitually led the dance before marriage are thus honored. Again, a boy bears his mother's name if she be a native of a different *bone* from his father, in the case of patrilocal residence. In the case of matrilocal residence he usually bears his father's name, but instances are known of the use of the matronymic in cases of matrilocal residence.

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When, then, a boy bears his mother's name, as a result of an exogamic marriage on the part of his father this may be the mother's own name or that of her *bone* or *cenlon*, put in the singular and with the gender reversed. Thus, the son of a woman from Iherrushen would be Moh n Taherusht; from Iherrassen, Moh n Taherast; from Temjunt, Moh n Chimjun; from Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Amar n Charu n Aissa, an actual name.

The occurrence of matronymy, which might lead one to the supposition of an early matriarchate in the Rif, can thus be explained completely on the basis of exogamy and of distinctive trades on the part of the mother. Naturally, Riffians bearing matronyms do not

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use them when in the presence of Arabs, lest the purpose of these names be misunderstood, for the Arabs would think that a man bearing his mother's name was illegitimate, and would ridicule him. For this reason the use of matronyms will probably soon die out.

Besides regular names, certain titles are in use. *Si* is prefixed to a man's name if he be a preceptor, schoolmaster, or clerk, or even a student proficient in reading and writing. *Sidi* is applied only to a reputed descendant of the prophet. The equivalent title *Mulai* is not known in the Rif, but is in use in the Senhaja Sghir, especially in Taghzuth, where a large part of the population, justly or otherwise, claims Sherifian blood.

THE FIRST HAIRCUT

The next event of importance in the life of the child is its first haircut. In the central tribes and the Senhaja it occurs after the expiration of a year; among the others, after six months. The former is the case in Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Gzennaya, and all the Senhaja.

On the day decided on for the first haircut, the father takes a goat to the cantonal mosque and gives it to the students, who sacrifice and eat it. One of the students returns with the father and shaves the child's head, leaving a single lock standing out on the occiput. With some of the hair he makes a necklace, which is tied around the child's neck; the rest he takes out with him and buries secretly. After this the father and mother and immediate family, generally the entire *sein*, hold a small feast.

The scalp lock which the student has left is kept uncut until the death of the individual, and after that event is used by the students washing the body as a convenient handle wherewith to turn the corpse without touching the flesh. The origin of the Berber scalp lock is lost in antiquity, since it is one of the earliest features of Berber culture to be recorded in history.[1]

The position of the lock on the occiput differs among the tribes, there being three places where it may be left; the right occiput, the left occiput, and the center of the occiput, just below lambda. The lock when worn on the left is called *thazhtoshth*, when on the right *Ass'iyeshth*, when in the middle *themzurth*.

Distribution of the left scalp lock: Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Shawia, Jebarna. It is also worn by the Ulad Stut, Beni Ukil, the Arabs of Msun, and the Beni Znassen. It is called the Zenatan type.

Distribution of the right scalp lock: Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Temsaman, Beni Ulishk, rest of Gzennaya, some in Tafersit, Targuist, Western and Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, Ktama, Taghzuth, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, and Beni Hamid. This is called the Senhajan type, and is worn by the Beni Zerwal, the Mtiwa dial Jbil, and by what few individuals of the Ghomara occasionally leave this lock. It is likewise worn by certain families of Fezzis, and by all of the Braber, who claim Senhajan origin.

Distribution of the median scalp lock: Beni Urriaghel,[2] Beni Amart, Bokoya, Maritimes, Zarket, Beni Beshir, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Shibet, and Beni Mesduy.

[1] Bates, pp. 134-137.

[2] Westermarck (p. 413) states that the Beni Urriaghel wear the lock on the *right* side, and that this lock *is* called *themzurt*. I have never seen an Urriaghli with his scalp lock anywhere but in the middle of his occiput; and the word which Westermarck uses to denote the right lock is really the name of the median lock.

181 178 Moreover, even though many jural details of life during the 'Ripublik' have now been forgotten, many attitudes and values of that era, which, as noted, lasted until the advent of 'Abd al-Krim [421] [562] in 1921, are still fully present. The Rifian keeps an iron grip on what belongs to him, and this applies particularly to his womenfolk, who, albeit highly respected, are kept equally secluded and segre- [423] gated. Also, his land, poor as it may be, is his own and no one [628] else's, in true "territorial imperative" style. But especially with [554] the coming of the protectorate, the values underlying the bloodfeud, [464] which was once the dominant political institution of the society, were channeled into the newer direction of labor migration: in the old days of the 'Ripublik', a man had to kill his enemy to make his [464] mark, while more recently he had to go out and get a job. (Until 1962 and Algerian Independence, work on the farms of French colons in that country was the favored mode and region of labor migration, while since that time the current has shifted to Western Europe.)

181 669 The Aith Waryaghar uprising against the Indepent Moroccan Government in 1958-1959 - which was forcibly put down by the new Royal Army in its first post-Independence test of strength - was a graphic indication, at the tribal level, that the old values of Rifian "apartness" within the wider national Moroccan society are still resistant to change, for despite its "modern" objectives, the uprising itself was carried out in a "traditional", "take-to-the-hills" manner. And these same values are even more discernible, today as in Blanco's 621 671 time, at the level of the jma'th, the local community. Community life among the Aith Waryaghar is both intense and inner-directed, as, for

602 571 613 619 596 2) (The author's) concept of "groups": a) group of blood ties (i.e. kin group)--family jajgu or "ascending ramus" (read "lineage branch")[20] and dharfiqth or "family group" (read "lineage"); b) social group--jma'ath: "fraction" or canton[21] (khums, rba')[22] and tribe or dhaqbitsh; c) political group--liff or alliance; d) religious group--tariqa or religious brotherhood, and murabitic families (saints); and e) economic group--rural lands and property: storehouses[23], markets, Jews, "beneficial institutions"[24].

594 596 613 Rifians are thus grouped into three "associations" (i.e. levels) of kin groups: 1) hearth or (nuclear) family or dhaddarth[25]; 2) "ascending ramus" or jajgu (lineage branch); and 3) "family group" or dharfiqth (patrilineage).

594 3) The Nuclear Family or Hearth:--This is formed by the union of a man, a woman and their (unmarried) children, and it should be looked at from both the conjugal and filial standpoints. From a 594 595 183 [554] conjugal standpoint, it may be composed of a man and his four wives (and unmarried children). But Rifians are polygynous only in theory; in practice, only the well-to-do (such as shaikhs) are polygynous, and even they seldom have more than two wives. A poor man only tends to take a second wife if he has to, if, for example, he has divorced the first one for not bearing him any sons. The function of polygyny 595 182 [181] is to produce sons in order to prevent the extinction of the family in a society where the major law is "that of the strongest"[26], as well as to produce a sufficient number of male children to take care of agricultural tasks. "Oriental sensuality" is not a factor here, in any way.

646 authority could obtain for himself by entreaty the representation of
646 popular sovereignty. This representation gives him social prestige,
554 a prestige which in the Rif can only be won through bravery, ability or wealth. Beside it, the religious power, also represented by virtuous men, served most of the time only to decorate by their persons, to legalize by their presence, and to preserve with their spiritual power the most solemn agreements. Once such prestige was acquired, it could even be consecrated, as it were, in a written title (such as the Qanun of Lower Thamasint), but this meant ultimately the beginning of personal power and the abandonment of a democratic organization[101].....Such representation won through the personal courage and effort of those who wanted it was given a measure of authority and permanence, a fact which obliges (1935) extraordinary prudence in Spanish nominations of tribal notables--for the original lack of prestige of most functionaries of the Makhzin follows them all their lives as a shadow follows a body.....In a tribe which I
[123] once administered there appeared a new qa'id. The news reached me,
[124] and I wanted to find out in a superficial manner how the nomination had been received; but wherever and whenever I mentioned the word "qa'id", the people I talked to called the man amzir, or "blacksmith"--the Rifian is a master when it comes to establishing social categories!.....Another typical case: among the Aith Waryaghar it was very common in an agrau or council meeting for one of those attending to get to his feet suddenly and express his own opinion at an opportune moment. The igrawn were popular assemblies and many people attended them, each man coming armed and gesticulating with his rifle,

646 although not all of them with the same degree of forcefulness. Any-
554 one may speak, although the majority, as elsewhere, are silent. A spontaneous speaker caused the same sensation, stupor and curiosity as those like him in Spain do in the bull-ring, and the result was almost the same. An amqqran or councilmember interrupted him, saying "You here, you have just made the gesture of a stupid idiot," and the poor man, reddened and embarrassed, was silent amid general noise and quarreling, which the ingenious councilmember smilingly recalled
646 in later years.....Another incident: once a man whom I did not know
554 was proposed to me as a candidate for a position of tribal authority,
124 and I wanted to find out about him. I began a series of questions and reflections regarding the virtues which anyone nominated would have to possess, such as honor, ability, etc. I was, however, surprised to find the person to whom I was talking interrupt me, saying quickly, "No, no, no! You think he is like So-and-so?" (And So-and-so was a very short-statured men, as I myself am.) "Not at all, he is thus!" With this the speaker, a big, fat fellow, raised his shoulders up with a graphic gesture, thumping his chest and laughing, saying that nobody could willingly argue about his own authority.

646 Among Rifians, then, names of tribal functionaries seem
554 literally and faithfully to interpret the idea of the function in-
829 volved, as amghar and amqqran both convey the idea of "big, adult, old". This is reflected in the qanuns when, in reference to those [671] attending a meeting, prior to inscribing a list of the names of the notables present, those who drew up the qanun in question were very

careful to state that all those at the convocation were the "majors" and the "minors" (los grandes y pequeños)[102] of such and such a place. The written titles or nominations of functionaries, and the pompous Arabic names of qa'id, qadi and mqaddim, with which some men like to adorn their names in order to astonish simpletons and impress strangers, are only of value inside their own houses (author's italics), just as the titles of doctor and coronel formerly were in certain South American republics! In the Rif, there was, in pre-'Abd al-Krim days, no qa'id and no qadi[103]; only imgharen and igrawn, iziddjifen, dharfiqin and turba, the last-mentioned being warlike amanuenses whose fingers are better suited to hilt or trigger than to pen, while the other names are the most definite external indices of the degree of Islamization[104] of those who possess them. We will not speak here of such fantastic personages as the bu-mwarith[105] or the ukil l-ghuyab[106] and other shadowy figures recently created by the Spanish protectoral administration, who will probably soon disappear if not taken proper care of!

6) Resume of Rifian Tribal Functionaries (given even though Rifians tend to confuse them among themselves!):

a) the iziddjifen, "headmen", or representatives of each dharfiqth, constituting the permanent council of the jma'th.

b) the imqqranen, "big ones" (or imgharen, pl. of amghar), the representatives elected by the jma'th (author's italics) for its own prestige, and the delegates of the latter territorial unit in the clan council, whose habitual meeting site was the market, and whose job it was to make the law.

c) the aith(th)arba'in, or "people of the forty"[107], delegates representing the clan in the tribal council or agrau, which convened when circumstances required it (danger external to the clan or to the tribe, or murder). In theory, there were eight delegates from each khums (in tribes, which, like Aith Aryaghar were divided into five khmas), but they were given the same name even if they totaled less than forty.[108]

d) the amghar n-suq, or "market chief"[109], a person who by virtue of his position or energy took care, with his kinsmen, of policing the market, of small incidents which might occur within it, etc.

e) the abarrah, or market crier.[110]

f) the amarras, or silo guardian (in the Eastern Rif only).

G) Free Professions (fragmentary):

a) Low Class Public Functionaries: criers and weighers in markets.

b) Free Professions: merchants, healers, weavers, carpenters and masons.

c) Lowest Scale: musicians and dancers.[111]

d) Ibarudiyen: real imqqranen, possibly the most highly regarded ones in the tribe. Invited to feasts, they enacted scenes of war. Generally, two of them faced each other and improvised dialogue, while firing off their rifles[112]. These ibarudiyen were the Rifian counterpart of dramatic actors; and even in this simple detail of lack of

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organization, as in the settlement morphology and house distribution of their communities, we may discern the state of disintegration which the Rifian "republics" had attained, the individual rapaciousness of each one and the anarchy of its component parts.

Diagram of Rifian Social Structure[113]

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We see in this graphic representation of the principal units in Rifian social structure how these units are originated in the lineages (Sp. original, grupos familiares) whose three ascending categories of nuclear family (Sp. or hogar, R. nubth), lineage branch (jajgu) and lineage proper (dharfiqth), with genealogical relationship as their distinguishing characteristic, form the roots or base of the Rifian arch, as diagrammed here. On reaching ground level (in an upward direction), they become transformed into three other (larger) social units whose distinctive features are expressed above and the apex of which is the tribe (dhaqbitsh), which is bound together with its autonomous institutional parts by the institutional apex of the agrau, or tribal council, the maximal assembly in the region. This arch gives us an idea of the (relative) independence (autonomy?) of its columns, representing clans sustained by the nuclei of jma'ths; and all this gives us also an idea of the whole and of the harmony reigning between this whole and its different parts, of its consistency, of its solidity, and of the importance of all these factors.

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619 Thirnamin, Ifillasen, Asht r-Ahsin u Musa, Afarzaz and Tiyuririn.
614 Shaikh (1940): Muhammad Bu Thuyis.
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d) Clan ("fraction") of Asht Mhand: contains villages of Asht Bujtuh, Asht Tayyar and Asht Ziyan. Shaikh (1940): Muhammad n Ka'was.

e) Clan ("fraction") of Asht Yunis: contains villages of Azru, Asht Hazim, Thaghirasth, Ihadhriyen, r-'Arqub and Ikhabbaben.

f) Clan ("fraction") of Asht 'Aru 'Aisa: contains villages of Dwaiyar, Tighza, Jbil Sidi 'Aisa, Waunkwarth and Thinimrar. Shaikh (1940): 'Abd r-Qadar n Muhand Aqudhadh.

g) Clan ("fraction") of Asht 'Asim: one part contains villages of Ifran, Iqarru'an and Iharrasen; another, those of Buridh, Tamjund and Iharrushen; and the third, Inhanahan, Iharshriyen and Thara Tazzugwakhth. The shaikhs of each (1940): 'Abdallah n Zimbib, Muh n Mis'aud and Si Muh n Biqqish.

175 8) History:--There are no precise dates on the history of the Igzinnayen until the occupation of the tribe by the Pretender Bu Hmara.
(628) (616) It appears that prior to this time the tribe was consumed in intestinal struggles between Ifuf, as all Berber and Arab tribes were. These were disputes without interest in which the fortune and existence of the protagonists and their people were at stake.

175 554 When Bu Hmara (Jilali Zarhuni) occupied the country of the Igzinnayen, he came to the qasba at Msun (in the Asht r-Udha), and afterwards he met with the subclans of the Asht Haddu and I'athmanen[171]. Useless resistance on the part of the latter was severely punished, and their two chiefs, the Hajj Hammada and the Fqih 'Abbu, brought to heel,

175 554 unwillingly brought the rest of the tribe into Bu Hmara's camp.

Bu Hmara, leaving the tribal organization as he found it, limited himself to transforming the existing shiyukh into qa'ids. The names of some of these men have been preserved: Muhammad wuld 'Allal, Midbuh, Muhush Kahwi, Buhut r-'Asimi and 'Allal n Dahu. Divide in order to rule; such was Bu Hmara's idea, severe and brutal. Under his command the Igzinnayen came to swell up his contingents to fight in Axt Tuzin and Thimsaman; and they were finally put in check in front of Silwan.

After Bu Hmara was taken prisoner, brought to Fez and executed by Sultan Mulay Hafidh, in 1327 A.H. (1909 A.D.), he continued to weigh on the tribe, which did not want him....Then anarchy returned.[172] We now see the appearance of Sidi Hmid Midbuh, son and grandson of the Qa'id Midbuh, and also a qa'id himself, in the Jibarna. Faithful to the Rogi Bu Hmara, he defended himself against the Hajj Hammada, who, far from enjoying the favors of Bu Hmara, had been executive after what happened at Silwan. The two families, already divided, came to show an increase in the number of their partisans.

Evil instincts now had free rein. The agreeable life of pillage, theft and murder began anew, with its concomitant of the exclusive satisfaction of the strong. 'Abd al'Malik found the tribe in this situation in 1333 (1915). He got the best group on his side, 175 648 554 because of the fact that aside from the facilities of command which he was given, he received important subsidies from Germany; and he did not hesitate for a moment to utilize the ancient quarrels in order to make his authority more secure. At this point, French forces had begun to penetrate the Sharifian Empire.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Igzinnayen

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The French advance in eastern Morocco hardly attracted the attention of the Igzinnayen in the beginning. The infidel was still far away, and, as for the rest, "God would provide." On their arrival at Minada, the events embroidered upon by market story-tellers increased their curiosity. One of their notables, the Hajj Hammada, presented himself to the French authorities. On their arrival at Msun, the Qa'id Midbuh, the Hajj Hammada, his nephew Muhand u Haddu, and all the rest of the notables of the southern Igzinnayen all went to look for them. Nevertheless, the French advance was a direct threat, and the Igzinnayen began to turn up as members of the harkas which fought against them. Importance was attributed to the numbers of these harkas, insofar as they came near the French, even without a definite order of battle.

At this point, 'Abd al-Malik, coming from Tetuan, entered the scene; thrown out by the Ghiyata, he succeeded in enlisting the cause of the Igzinnayen, especially those of Asht Yunis through his good relations with Si Hmid Ubarshan[173] and with Shaikh Hmid n 'Amar. He was spoken of throughout the mountains thanks to his open-handed palm-greasing, and thanks also to his tireless activity. He convoked the Igzinnayen in successive igrawn, the first at the Monday Market of Azru[174] and the second, a little later, along the banks of the Msun River, about 2 km. from the present gates of Kifan. The Qa'id Midbuh was frightened at this move, and after hiding by night with some fifteen of his agnates, he gained the French lines, while the Hajj Hammada, definitely conquered, received large compensations.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Igzinnayen

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'Abd al-Malik, aided by his German collaborator Hermann, sought friendships through money, and spread his propaganda among the Dharwa Haddu through the Hajj Hammada and his son 'Abdssram. Dedicated to their desires, they swelled up the harkas and suffered heavy losses; but the Igzinnayen did not hesitate to abandon and betray 'Abd al-Malik on the day that fortune went against him. His favorite, the Hajj Biqqish, who had sung his praises louder than anyone else, was the very first to rob him when he came to seek refuge amonst the Asht 'Asim.

The Hajj Muhand Biqqish, a notable of Thiddas in Ikhuwanen of Asht 'Asim, takes up all the internal history of Igzinnayen before the French occupation and the domination of 'Abd al-Krim. Having risen to the top through his indisputable merits as a warchief, he extended his power over all of Igzinnayen and a part of the Aith Waryaghar[175]. In 1913 and 1914, we find him in the Jbil Shaushau (?) of Bu Nakris (?) at the head of a harka which fought the French in Msun, in Taza, and in bil-Qasim in the country of the Miknasa. In 1915 he put himself at the disposition of the Hajj Mamun ash-Shangiti.

An excellent administrator, and having on the other hand a constant care about his own person and a great deal of knowledge of tribal politics, the exercise of justice was a considerable source of income to him thanks to certain rights toward discounts which he claimed and pocketed, and other ways of assuaging his conscience; and he thus increased his resources very considerably. He got rich and acquired lands and fields. He inherited the family house from his father in Tighza (Ikhuwanen), and another in Thiddas, as well as land formerly belonging to the subclan of Thimarzga of Aith Waryaghar,

175 on the mountain of Afuzar. In the latter place he built a large house
648 with a huge wall around it, according to the locals; this house is
554 known as Dhaddarth n Biqqish[176]. With 'Amar Hamidu, the qa'id of
Marnisa, he helped 'Abd al-Malik against the French. When the French
648 routed 'Abd al-Malik at Kifan on 13 Safar 1336 A.H. (November 28, 1917),
554 the latter took refuge in Biqqish's house. 'Amar Hamidu became hostile to Biqqish over the possession of the Wednesday Market at Buridh, but when 'Abd al-Malik appeared at Sidi 'Ari n Dawud[177], they patched up their differences in order to help him, until the day that he took refuge in Thafarsith. This friendship between the two chiefs of Marnisa and Igzinnayen lasted until the advent of 'Abd al-Krim. In 1921, Biqqish, advised by 'Amar Hamidu, refused to join the Rifians of 'Abd al-Krim in their struggle against Spain. In 1922, 'Abd al-Krim attacked him and, abandoned by more and more of his followers, Biqqish, vacillating, had almost decided to place himself under Spanish protection; but afterward he reconsidered and submitted to 'Abd al-Krim. His son Si Hmid then was given a qa'idship.

By 1924 the importance of the younger Biqqish, Si Hmid, had notably decreased. Finally, in 1925, at the time of the all-out attack on the French front, the elder Biqqish and his son were detained by 'Abd al-Krim for questioning. After three months, in order to ascertain the feelings of the taciturn and mysterious Biqqish, 'Abd al-Krim sent him to the region of Branis to inspect the front and to keep inciting the war against the Christians.

Sick and irreductible, the old man set himself up in the Friday Market of Branis and did nothing. He was denounced and brought

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554 back to Ajdir, 'Abd al-Krim's capital in the Aith Waryaghar lowlands. 'Abd al-Krim let him return to live with his family and gave his son Si Hmid his freedom; but, furious at the capture of the Mahkama of Brabir (---Branis?), he got rid of the old man permanently by giving him a glass of poisoned tea at the Wednesday Market of Aith Turirth (Aith Waryaghar).[178] Si Hmid was detained during the occupation of Marnisa by French Moroccan troops and then set free in January 1926. He lives today (1940) in the Igzinnayen[179], and has a sister, Mimuna, married to the former qa'id and present (1940) khalifa of Arba' n Turirth, Muh n 'Amar nj-Mqaddim; and this woman, probably because of the spirit she inherited from her father, is the real ruler of the household.[180]

It should be stated that the irreducible enemy of the Biqqish family, the Qa'id Finnish of Iharrasen, died in combat on May 11, 1926, against the French in Izkrithen (in the Asht 'Asim) near Ikhwanen; he had been a principal cause of the persecution and death of the Hajj Muhand Biqqish, through his influence with 'Abd al-Krim.

al-Krim's status quo in this respect.

Emilio Blanco, however, often expresses strong reservations about the efficacy of the Shari'a in the Rif, and--like the "Berber sentimentalist" he often betrays himself to be--actually chides the administration (but only in his unpublished work) for not reintroducing customary law to the Rif. Blanco's thoughts on this matter may have never reached the publication stage, but it is easy to see that he was deeply concerned about it. This is again, perhaps, a function of the (almost unconscious) influence of Montagne's Les Berbères et le Makhzen upon his work and thought.

5--The umbrella (Rifian rmdhar) is the hallmark, rain or shine, of any important personage, actual or self-styled, in the Rif. However, why Blanco brought it into this particular context, we have no idea.

6--The divergence between "Islamic Law" and "Custom" in the Rif is, in an overall sense, less noticeable, certainly, than in other Berber-speaking areas of Morocco, especially the Middle and Central Atlas; and, as aforementioned, we have 'Abd al-Krim to thank for the theoretically harmonious equilibrium and, indeed, blend, between the two.

That, in a general way, it is the Shari'a which is followed (more or less) in all matters pertaining to 1) land, 2) marriage, and 3) divorce, while the elusive "Custom" tends to dictate any cases which do not have to do with these conceptualizations, will soon become apparent.

7--For further "value judgments" on this question, see David M. Hart and José R. Erola, "Rifian Morals", in Vergilius Ferm, Ed., Encyclopedia of Morals, New York; Philosophical Library, 1956, pp. 481-490.

8--i.e. by Western standards: another value judgment.

9--The dharfiqth, pl. dharfiqin, is, in the Rif, the patrilineal (and patrilocal) lineage par excellence, and although Blanco translates it as "grupo familiar", I shall refer to it as "lineage" henceforth, in both text and notes. Varying in both membership and depth, it may trace its 'apical" ancestor from, say, four up to as many as eight ascending generations removed from the speaker. Almost never, unless he is a sharif (in Rifian, amrabidh), or descendant of the Prophet Muhammad--whether de facto or de jure is in this case immaterial--and often not even then, can a Rifian trace his ancestry in a step-by-step progression beyond this particular apex, whatever its generational depth. The various lineage branches of the dharfiqth are also conceptualized as such by Rifians, and are called jajgu, pl. ijujga in Aith Waryaghar, and jij, pl. ijajjen in Igzinnayen and Aith 'Ammarth.

10--Jma'th (from Moroccan Arabic jma'a) is the term generally employed to refer to all the people in a given local community. The Rifians do not use it in the sense which it is given in Arabic (as well as that accorded it by the former Spanish administration), that of "council, assembly", a sense which is more restrictive. However, the triliteral root jm' in Arabic, meaning "to come together, congregate, collect, add up", is ultimately permissive of both notions, for from it is also derived the noun jum'a, "Friday", as well as jami', "mosque". One may

684 554 203 626 74--In the Aith Waryaghar, anyone who indulged in bestiality became the object of extreme derision; and as a market crier himself is a person of very low social standing, this in itself would have rubbed more salt in the wound.

000 75--Marriages with parallel cousins occur, but they are uncommon. In this particular instance, there was a good reason for it, as Blanco points out.

76--These cousins, again as indicated in note 17, were the boy's r-waratha, who could normally have inherited only if the boy's father had either died without issue or if he had left a daughter or daughters only. It is un-Qur'anic enough for the r-waratha to appropriate, as [671] they often try to do, a daughter's share of the inheritance as well as their own, but for them to take over a son's share is expressly forbidden by the Shari'a, and may be regarded, in this instance, as the purest personal aggrandizement.

[114] 77--This should probably read "to one's tribe", as the notion of other tribes hardly enters the picture here. Except under an 'Abd al-Krim, how would it have been, or be, possible for a man of the Igzinnayen, for example, to feel any responsibility for a man from the Aith Waryaghar? This error may be due to a typographical error in the original text.

[682] [114] 78--One could hardly label a sanction of 2000 duros for murder committed in a market as indicative of "lack of repressive organs". It is statements of this kind, which continually crop up, that, in conjunction with numerous factual errors, cast a small but ever-present cloud over Blanco's work, and mark him as an amateur ethnologist.

79--See La Ley Rifeña, pp. 47, 50.

B) Commentary:

671 182 We have here a curious (sic) type of qanun, which, as we read it, reveals the decomposition which Rifian society had reached, the atomism to which its tribal anarchy led, the imperfection, or rather, the inefficacy, of its laws, the irregular coexistence, the demonstration of its independence.

628 613 728 The disputes between two lineages of the Aith Waryaghar threaten to exterminate them through the chain of blood-vengeance in the face of the indifferent attitude of their constituents, who are habituated to taking justice into their own hands in order to defend their own interests. Two rival groups of equal size attain, in their ferocious and persistent struggle, an equal number of losses, and they reach a stage of weariness, a moment of lassitude happily exploited in order to initiate a treaty of peace (author's italics), which will permit them to build up their resources; and this fact leads them to establish this agreement for one year. Those who will (686) see to it that the truce is kept are the shiyukh, to whose protection they submit and who are interested in the affair because of the inducement of the fine which the group must pay, if within this minimal space of time it contravenes what has been agreed upon in any way (author's italics).

671 613 628 728 554 This society lacks a strong executive power; it looked instinctively toward the web of lineages represented through its shiyukh or old chiefs (sic) (no one should believe that this title represented a step in any framework of governmental or judicial power) for a force which was neutral to its feuds and more powerful than itself, to which

671 613 628 728 554 by such a simple and voluntary act it was converted at the same time to an arbiter of incidents and an executor of decisions. The function is not gratuitous as in modern states, for if in the latter the contributor pays indirectly, he does so directly in the Rif. Their covetousness thus awakened, they evidently insured temporarily against feud renewal, but they also stipulated that it would revive the embers of their hatred.

671 613 628 182 [183] These agreements or inter-lineage truces obeyed a double mechanism originating from the vicious circle in which they were debated. On the one hand they originated a series of regulatory norms of coexistence which, gaining in amplitude of concept and extending their jurisdiction to the generalizing of their advantages and the persistence of their exemplarity, painfully came to gain the adhesion of other nearby and related lineages until they were adopted by larger social and territorial units, including districts or entire tribes; and this situation gave rise to some of those qanuns upon which we will comment further on. On the other hand, they represented the ultimate [728] step to which anarchy led, responding to those most curious periods of [195] their history in which one powerful group, having recourse to violence, broke the truce in defense of its own interests, the official recognition of this fact being given by the imgharen in the suq in the face of general consternation, with the tragic phrase War dha bu r-haqq.[12]

628 602 182 195 "Now there is no law"[13]: such was the official form of declaring the state of anarchy into which the Rifians so frequently fell, a phrase which obliged them to strengthen their kin group, without dismay and by all means in their power; for a man's kinsmen were his last refuge in case of social accident.

671 628 613 728 Things went well, while the violators of the past were humble figures among the allied groups, incapacitated by their slight strength and the fact that they had few friends to abuse the pact by opposing themselves to other groups concerned; but when the equilibrium was upset or broken by the hatreds of the more distinguished lineage members, dragging their powerful lineages into the fray, the pact was wrecked and peace disappeared anew.

671 628 728 Observe in note 1 the guarantee of peace. In note 2, the formality of the agreement obtained. In note 3, the punishment. In note 4, the violation of the agreement. In note 5, the executive organ, the mass of the population. In note 6, the procedure. In note 7, the reason for the punishment, because it is a voluntary law. In notes 8 and 9, the fulfillment. In notes 10 and 11, the notables, the really significant personages, the Aitharbi'in. In notes 12 and and 13, with economic details, the democratic sensation of defer ve practice. In note 14, the Rifian illusion.

671 628 152 Notes 3 and 4 seem to show that Rifian custom is not designed to punish the loyal combatant, who, in an inflamed dispute, comes impulsively to make use of arms, incapable of dominating his instincts and always quick to defend his rights, but also to avoid treachery, cunning and hatred, or rather, vengeance, reprisal, from which the Rifians did not know how to free themselves, and which used up men and [577] families. This is a notion which renders honors to manhood and [828] matizes the coward.

554 671 In notes 2, 10 and 11 it may be seen who the Rifians of significance are and that only these men, and not the ordinary tribesmen, are the executives and legislators. This proves what has been said

This proves what has been said
554 regarding the treatment of social organization in connection with the
671 ascendency and distinctiveness of the clans, of the suq, a true par-
614 liament, which is attended by the most outstanding men of the clan,
62 tacit or vocal delegates of the jma'ths who form an arictocracy known
623 as the Aitharbi'in, whose circumstantial attendance in some cases
619 forms the agraw, the directing assembly and organism of the tribe.
646

614 This also serves to confirm our opinion that in the Rifian
671 area it is not the tribe which legislates and executes, but the clan,
[619] through its leaders, who parley in the market. It is thus the clan
[554] and its representatives in which all powers are concentrated and only
in case of a decrease in strength do they pay heed to the rest. The
Rifian clan is thus a truly autonomous state. It makes the law and
[681] executes it. Look, for instance, at the division of the fine, how
not a single céntimo goes to the representatives of other clans, even
if they are of the same tribe.

681 Notes 11, 12 and 13, which deal with the division of the fine,
[628] prove many of these notions. The victim or his family does not benefit
from it, for from the beginning his business is individual; a member
of his family (i.e. one of his agnates) will already be designated to
671 avenge him. The law does not punish more than the violation of the
pact, indemnifying those who remain faithful to such violation and saw
628 to its fulfillment. For this reason the perpetrator and his family
[672] (agnates) are punished, while all those who intervene in the service
of justice benefit, for they or their representatives carry it out.
If they get no money, as such, for such services, nobody would be
interested, for in carrying them out, he would not be bothered to

pick up his rifle in defense of justice (a few days of visiting, free food, participation in the sharing of the fines, and even a raid, if this be the case). In the latter instance, everyone was (translator's italics) interested and desired to see justice done (with concomitant benefits of a meal and collecting one's own share of the fine).

Rifian law, according to note 7, is definitely superior (sic) to European law, because it obliges anyone who submits to it only to accept it and to agree to its fulfillment, accepting beforehand the santions which it establishes.

It is in these qanuns that Rifians may see sharply reflected who exactly are the men of prestige in the group to which they attach themselves and even the order of preference, by means of the names which figure in them; but we must not lose sight of the fact that they are edited by tulba of childish mentality (sic), a mentality deformed by their Islamic education; and that these tulba do not even translate Berber conceptualizations into their Arabic writing, as may be observed in other qanuns, thus altering the natural order in favor of their religious inclinations.[26]

Nobody believes, then, that such individuals cited in the first place figure in the documents for reasons of religiosity, but for the convenience of the ingharen who, jealous of their prestige, would have promoted interminable altercations in order to be first, in their jealous egalitarianism, and the necessity, which they saw themselves in order to avoid it, of putting above their disputes and petty jealousies individuals of neutral appearance, such as tulba, to officiate as the pacifying presidents of their stormy council-meetings (igrawn).

695 Valid and complete testimony in virtue of which both instrumental witnesses bring testimony against them.

000 (Two illegible signatures follow.)

692 At the same time, they agreed that whoever should commit any of the wrongs (literally, "things") expressed herein, the case, together with him (the man who committed it) shall be taken to Sayyid Mhammad bin Musa[32] and Sayyid Ahmad bin 'Ali[33] (Blanco: note d).

685 Whoever enters an orchard with intent to rob shall pay 20 uqiyyas. If a bull should start to trample property adjacent to that 685 of its owner, the latter shall pay one peseta. 672

The guarantors (of the fulfillment of this agreement) are three. The Muqaddam Muhammadi bin Muhammad bin Ahmad, Hammu bin Muhammad bin 'Ali bin 'Abdallah, and Muhammad bin 'Umar bin Ahmad bin al-Hasan (Blanco: note e).

[681] Regarding the amount (of the fines imposed) with respect to orchards in cases in which they are injured by animals, this will be donated to their mosque (Blanco: note f).

If they should break a branch of a fig or other tree belonging to anyone, the owner of the animals will pay 20 (uqiyyas).

000 A signature in Arabic follows, which appears to be al-Bu Jma' bin Muhammad (signed).

B) Commentary:

671 624 The reading of this qanun clearly indicates in its first paragraph the names of those who have established it, all of them members of the jma'th of Imhauren, bordering the Island of Alhucemas, in the 624 plain of the same name. Every two or three headmen or iziddifen (sing., 613 aziddif, "head") are the visible representatives of the lineage groups 554

621 which make up the said jma'th; they are at the same time the most
613
554 influential and respected members of the community. Without any
[182] presidency, without rigid formalities, without oceans of ink or ridiculous voting techniques, this democracy of lineages, galled by necessity and convenience, knows how to unite the established social norms which have to regulate, in what follows, the relations between the different lineages.

671 It is thus a people's law, made by representatives of the
621 community, surrounding the act in which it is originated with all
181 the guarantee and formality for the satisfaction of the always suspicious mass and for the possible waylaying (in ambush) of its repre-
792 sentatives. For this, and as a guarantee, a greater solemnity and
621 public knowledge, two holy men are invited to and attend the meeting;
692
554 they will keep the session from degenerating into a dispute because of the prestige which they enjoy, for the conclusion of the agreement, under which they place themselves, assures their guard and divine benediction. Even the most exigent will remain satisfied, closing the
792 road to backbiting. Even more, in order to avoid forgetfulness or
621 capricious modifications in matters of such transcendence, they draw
692
212 it up in writing; it is easy to understand the genesis of the agreement
671 and the development of the session in which it is taken. From that
527 time to this, it is public feasting, a subject for all the commentaries
521
571 in the village (households, watering places for women, and mosques), such as the numerous thefts in and damages to the orchards, the harvests of which are ready and which they fear will be wasted; these are events which are repeated every year at the same time and for which they are obliged to assemble in order to keep them down.

623 Thus public
182 esteem and the ideas which such deeds provoke in others are regained;
673 they satisfy the mass of the people without having to resort to cru-
687 elty, for.....in a truly humane feeling, note c in the text shows that
695 the author of the crime must have been caught in flagrante delicto.
627 Discounting possible vengeance and not very sure of having succeeded in
623 doing so, note e in the text shows the institution of a popular tri-
554 bunal formed by two neutral individuals, two men who neither take part
671 in the agreement nor are members of the jma'th, but the fact that they
have prestige in it is a maximum guarantee of the workability of the
qanun in question.

623 Furthermore, the jma'th as a social unit is personified not in
621 its mqaddim, in the Arab manner, but, hostile to personal power, in a
triumvirate formed by three of the legislators who took part in the
meeting and who remain obligated to watch over the fulfillment of the
agreement. This executive organ of power is made up of laymen, and it
as much as the aforementioned tribunal is the result of popular election.

671 In the few lines which this qanun has, aside from creating a
624 a code, a tribunal and a police force, all of which are, naturally,
182 gratuitous, it creates a rural exchequer, and all this with a good,
natural and admirable feeling.

182 It restricts, through fear of fines, damages to the small social
671 unit it represents by guaranteeing the safety of property and discard-
626 ing cravings for economic expansion at the expense of member lineages.[35]
681
613

691 It creates linkage authorities whose jobs are gratuitous, and,
613 always suspicious, it avoids concentration of power in the hands of one
661 person, a fact which permits neither a shade of tyranny by the latter
182 nor a bastardization of his office.

671 623 (2) Commentary:

This document, this community charter, as is customary with such writings, begins by enumerating the men who attended the meeting 671 554 623 in which it was drawn up. This simple list of names reveals to us, in the first place, the supremacy of the laymen, with civil power, over the clerics, a fact which may be observed in the name of the man figuring in first place being ahead of that of the Talib Sidi Shu'aib. The order in which the names occur is not a casual one. The editors 671 829 576 623 of the qanuns, profound psychologists who know to perfection the environment in which they operate, never dare to invert the terms of social protocol; they know with their eyes closed who must occupy the preferential place, and that the slightest transgression in this respect would tear down not only the agreement, through any quarrel which might take place, but also the effigy of the editors themselves[39].....

623 The first paragraph puts into relief just who are the representative men of the jma'th, the notables, the heads of the lineages making up the village, the iziddifen, who formed the council regulating neighborhood relations, the only council empowered to legislate in such questions (Blanco: paragraph i or j), and equivalent to the Spanish Consejo or Ayuntamiento.[40]

The agraw or council-meeting held on this occasion by the iziddifen had as its object, as the written qanun shows us, the legislation of neighborhood questions concerning the council, regulation of the coexistence of its lineage members, guaranteeing the free and peaceful usufruct of individual and communal (i.e. water) property,

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673 Recalcitrance toward hospitality--5 pesetas

Disobedience to other agreements of the iziddifen--5 pesetas

Incompletion of contractual obligations to the schoolmaster--2 pesetas

Damages to irrigation ditches--2 pesetas

Damages caused by animals in land just sown--0.50 pesetas

673 An examination of this graded scale shows us with evident
623 clarity the importance which the jma'th attributed to acts committed
685 against it, those against property emerging as the gravest and most
423 feared; for the property of the jma'th was its support and sustenance, and its members placed the strongest penalty upon possible theft of its scarce food reserves in order to avoid such temptations.

623 The principal obsession of the jma'th as an institution is,
423 then, the defense of its property and the avoidance of agressions
578 among its members (author's italics), whose simple intention (author's italics) it punishes, in order to avoid quarrels.

623 Although rudimentary, it aims to fulfill the defensive needs
[193] of the whole social unit. It is not warlike, nor is it in the least religious, if we consider the very slight importance which it concedes
[574] toward sustenance of the fqih (two pesetas of the fine).[42] It is purely and simply a social unit which places much more importance on the duties of hospitality to guests, for example.[43]

[623] But it is humane. There are no lashings or mutilations, as
[681] instituted by Muslim law, with or without Qur'anic ceremonial; nor is there any deprivation whatsoever of personal liberty in the manner of
[554] European codes. Neither is it proud, converting the legislators into demi-gods, thanks to immunities and other profits....It aids them to

623 554 legislate, but it is not maintained by conferring distinctions on them, converting them into a caste, nor by giving them stipends for their work. For this same reason, the council-members have, perhaps, greater esteem among their neighbors. On the other hand, the jma'th punishes [581] disobedience to its decrees, but it does not impose a penalty on those who disobey the shaikh, who is simply a representative of the people with outside denomination expressed in writing (i.e. in Arabic), in view of the difficulty of expressing this in his own language.[44] That [622] he is a simple titular and outside arbiter is shown by the fact that his function, in Arabic terminology and organization, would be that of a mqaddim.

607 554 623 [578] This qanun is an excellent example of the beginnings of a trend toward personal power concentrated in a single individual, the shaikh, charged with the representation of the jma'th and the execution of its agreements;.....and we may perceive indistinctly the intrigue and the deaf struggle between this personage and the rest of the community, who are jealous of his attributes. In the first draft, the document is declared valid (Blanco: paragraph f, in text); but in the oversights pointed up in the re-reading of the document, and certainly at the shaikh's request, they consent to the fact that obedience to him be recommended in the addenda; but they have been careful, in the preceding paragraph (paragraph i), to state that only they can make resolutions or define crimes and misdemeanors through enforcement of law and punishment, always granted, of course, that such enforcement be useful (author's italics); but neither the shaikh nor anyone else can invent or contrive more than his council, because only they are capable

671 of knowing the needs of the moment, not past or future needs which do
554 not mean anything to anybody. They are living laws designed for living
623 people, for those present.

671 Paragraph b shows us how they embellish their law, taking aggra-
672 vating and attenuating circumstances into account. Among these are nocturnity and dwellings (where they guard their fig and grain reserves). Attenuating and, even more, exemption from responsibility, [682] homicide is legitimate if committed in self defense or in defense of one's property.

681 Paragraph c punishes intention, in order to avoid disputes,
554 and makes a small concession to personal power, permitting the shaikh
661 to keep for himself this fine destined for the common fund.
671

685 Paragraph d is concerned with injuries to crops by animals,
672 which are herded by children. The punishment is minimal.
671

In paragraph e, the law of the jma'th establishes and regulates
671 the social duty of hospitality, imposing the burden equally on all its
623 members. Guests learn that it is not only the shaikh who pays for
574 their upkeep, but all the members of the jma'th, even the poor ones.

623 Consider also the excessive number of voluntary servitors who
574 dance continued attendance on the guest with towels, basins and soap, and finally the amphitrion hands over to their expectant voracity all the remains of your meal, except for one small dish which, passing through the door, is submerged in the mysterious interior of the dwelling as a reward for the activity of the women or children who prepared it. When you leave, each member of the jma'th retires with whatever he presented for your comfort: pillows, blankets, soap, coffee pot or teapot, towel, glasses, candles, etc.

771 [671] Paragraph h shows us the guarantee of keeping the principal religious services (funerals, etc.) and of keeping their sons educated in the faith. Today, under a different pretext, it is not uncommon 771 178 to observe someone pretending to reject with disdain such a traditional [793] obligation, for which he must not claim protection. The reason for this, rather than being rooted in irreligiosity, must be sought in possible antagonisms with the fqih.

623 671 Paragraph i conditions the obligation of fulfilling the agreements with certain legalities: that so many individuals be present at the meeting, and that they be useful and not prejudicial. They are, thus, the colegislators, working freely and without limitation, without dependence on anyone. It urges obedience.

671 [554] Paragraph j recommends obedience to the shaikh.

In summation: this beautiful qanun of a jma'th establishes who 671 623 are the iziddifen or council-members, and what their attributes are: to establish statutes regarding damages to crops, education and hospitality, but not to concern themselves with murder, woundings and homicide, an affair of the clan, nor with personal status, a religious 623 554 matter. In the internal struggle within the jma'th, if, indeed, the iziddifen consent and delegate the execution of their decisions to a representative (the shaikh) to whom they accord circumstantial rewards, at the same time, jealous of their prerogatives, they free themselves very easily from authorizing him to contrive misdemeanors and penalties for these.

554 Thus the shaikh, in reality, is only the guardian of the community.

671 443 614 776 was drawn up, as the names of those who inspired it disappear into a convenient anonymity as the generic "those of the clan", under the otherworldly tutelage of Sidi 'Amran. As for being alive and present, 671 614 776 I consider that the jealous and rivalrous constituents of this saint would neither have consented, however great his sanctity might be, to figure expressly in this qanun; for such was the independent or anarchical spirit of this clan, that, having iziddifen or ingharen like all other clans, nobody wanted to see himself deferred or ordered around, 554 even in name only. There is no master nor, by the same token, are there servants, titles or honors. Only men and rifles, and only reality and harshness.

614 671 Nevertheless, the common good succeeds in putting the clan's ideas into effect (author's italics--i.e. "the common good makes them agree"), according to the expression of the first paragraph of the qanun, which reveals to us the amount of discussion and work that this would cost.

671 Rifian law grows, pacifying the minds of those who live by it, staisfying a need, not an ideal; and doing so as naturally as the waters of 'Ain Tihalalin, beside which it was made, slake the thirst of the wayfarer and even the clarity of both: the wayfarer and the law. For the function of the water and the function of the Rifian [182] legal system was analogous: to cure, even though the cure was not always successful.

671 443 Rifian society, as this qanun proves, establishes a place of peace, a place which is not (translator's italics) the temple of God, the place of prayer and that selected by almost all other peoples, but the market and its environs, the temple of the merchants. This proves

671 "when they were under God's protection") among the notables of the Bani Khattab situated on the seacoast[65], God made them assemble, both adults and minors (author's italics), and made them put their ideas and criteria into agreement. Then they established the Wednesday Market (Suq al-Arba') in front of the tomb of the saint Sidi Bu 'Afif[66], so that it would be a benefit to the poor as well as to those who should desire prosperity.

May God make concord (and harmony) endure among them, and may He solidify (i.e. render prosperous) their market. The establishment (of the aforementioned market) was due to the blessed sharif Sayyidi Ahmad bin Sayyidi Misa'ud[67]--may God make the whole tribe happy--and to the following persons of Ajdir[68]: to the opulent and considerate Shaikh Muhammad Shiddi, to the Qa'id Sayyid Bu Bakr bin al-Hajj Muhammad Ushshan, to the Murabit Muhammad Ashahbar al-'Azizi al-Ghalbzuri and to his neighbor Shaikh al-Hajj Haddu bin Tahir u Musa w 'Amar, to Shaikh Haddu bin al-Shaikh Hammu Taqal'ait Amhawl, and to Shaikh Haddu bin al-Hajj Muhammadi. All these shuyukh are those who brought their criteria and aid (for the establishment of the market), and above all of them (is the worthy help) of the sharif Sidi Ahmad.

Each of the shuyukh designated those who had to help them in the aforementioned market; these helpers are their brothers (i.e. the people who fall under their jurisdiction) and have to be the first to arrive at the market and the last to leave, in order to safeguard it from prejudice, harm, danger, evil and brawls which might occur in it (i.e. within its limits).

For example: whoever, in the market, should attack (someone)

000 sought to remedy them.

671 This qanun, from a social standpoint, shows certain differences
671 from the others. We may appreciate, for example, in these men of the
181 Mediterranean coast their greater contact with European civilization,
[177] how they struggle to rise from the mass, emerging from the anonymity
in which the ritual words "adults and minors" are apt to encircle them, from these words which in many qanuns designate those who attend their council meetings, from which there only stands out in any decorative fashion some religious individual (i.e. a sharif or murabit), which was more in conformity with their communistic (sic!) society.
181 In the same manner as today, the city dweller wishes to rise from
369 the rural mass, holding on with doubtful pleasure to the easy means
554 of using shoes, visiting cards, gloves, tombstones and cigarettes,
177 in the European style. The city dweller, by the mere fact of lengthen-
369 ing his jillab[71] and putting on shoes, if not sneakers[72], considers
554 himself on a higher level than his rural fellow-countrymen, although
291 his mentality is analogous and his virtues inferior.

369 The countryman has an opinion of the European which borders
829 on indifference, as he neither feels cravings to imitate him nor ape his manner. The city dweller envies the European, and for this reason he imitates him and hates him.

369 Thus the vivacious city dwellers, when they wish to gain the sympathy of their fellow countrymen and, on being forced to intern themselves in the country[73], try to imitate the latter ostentatiously[74] .....although this by no means lets them succeed in escaping the ironic judgments of these astute countrymen.

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554 Abundant in these ideas, we may observe how in the first lines of the qanun some names are adorned with the honorific titles of shaikh and even qa'id, titles which fit the members of this society as well as two pistols do a saint, for not only did they not realize nor did anyone admit the roles which in Arabic correspond to such titles, but, as can be appreciated, the nominal qa'id (i.e. Sayyid Bu Bakr bin Muhammad Ushsham) does not occupy the first place, which he not only had to yield to the opulent and considerable Shaikh Muhammad Shiddi, but to crouch behind another, second shaikh, 'Ali Azarqan, and we finally discover him in third place modestly lost among the notables: the adults (author's italics), with this single, authentic and legitimate representation: that of his lineage (family group) or dharfiqth, and all the rest, of the social group or jma'th.

It may be observed that this is the only qanun in which the imaginary personage of the qa'id is expressly stated; his title and role are as unreal as all other Arab ones in the Rif, whether they be called bu mwarith, ukil l-ghuyab, shiyukh, mqaddimin and even qudat
181 (pl. of qadi). These people did not look toward Fez nor toward the circumference of the Rif, but toward its center, toward the interior,
614 toward their villages. There was no power other than the assembly,
121 the agraw[75], the council of elders. For this reason Rifian society.... could have previously been considered concentric.[76]

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554 We may also see the coincidence that this qanun, the only one
693 in which the term qa'id appears, is also the only one which contains that of amghar among the last names (ninth to last) as well as that of ra'is[77], and it reveals to us how the tulba of the Aith Waryaghar, who

671 surprised Raisuli so much later on[78] when he saw their warlike pro-
554 clivities, were employed in an executive capacity so far from their
693 real profession.

671 If we consider the time in which they were drawn up, quite
779 recently, this would show us these apparent confusions as a more advanced state of Islamization.

671 Going further in the reading of the qanun, we notice a confused editorship or translation in the examples which it gives us. We do not know if we are commenting on a qanun, the Rifian penal code, or a shooting match. Why is it that if a man wounds someone in attack, he must pay a fine of 100 duros, and if he misses him, he must pay double that amount? Because of his poor markmanship? But then instead of limiting aggressions, of tending to diminish damages and injuries to the individual and to society, were the Rifians thus impelled to aggravate them with this exhortation to perfect markmanship, a stimulus to murder? Undoubtedly there is much confusion here, and I myself am not certain how to explain it.

681 Common prestige and experience arm them and cause them all
443 to watch over and keep their guard against each other, stipulating the severest punishment, above their own individual interests, for those who attack in the market. They consider this a crime against the
[619] tribe, the worst crime in Rifian society, which is paid with violent
[673] death, without admission of the compensation which another qanun of the Aith Waryaghar[79] mentions, although this does not do so.

671 This qanun also shows us a very curious aspect of Berber society, in general and of Rifian society in particular, as we have commented above.

have just said, a personage who does not show up in any qanun as discharging his office or as even providing the most minimal and non-transcendent representation, for in the one qanun in which we finally discover him (the qanun commented upon here) we have already shown that he hides himself modestly and even effacingly behind the camouflage of two other shiyukh. The result is that not even in the big list, in the listing of "the fat ones" (i.e. the enumeration of the clan brothers of each of the imagharen of importance), does this ambitious man gain first prize, the individual who seizes this being an opulent and lay tribesman whose preeminence clearly gives a clue to the psychology of the talib who drafted the qanun as well as to that of his constituents.

And, reflecting upon bases like these, it is well to ask what reasons or exigencies the first protectorate functionaries felt, discounting both imitative and ignorant ones in order to orient their policies toward big qa'ids who, even if their stature has been diminished, are no longer to be seen for sure anywhere.

To impose upon the tribes more or less significant personalities, representatives of concentrated power, when, subdivided ad infinitum, they unite in their opposition to all types of personal power, is always an ungrateful undertaking and one full of surprises, as practice has shown us....when power is imposed from above.[84]

In the Rif, where all are personalities, only a mass-oriented political system, and not one oriented toward individuals, can bear fruit.[85] The enforced utilization of one or even several dozen persons of some importance serves no purpose if this does not benefit the mass, taking up its aspirations and satisfying its needs, anxious for freedom

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389 Any fisherman with dynamite is the owner of the fish and site of the explosion while he remains there. Fishermen with lines may not enter the radius of action of dynamite fishermen.

In fishing with explosives, the man who first sees the fish and stays to wait for them is entitled to remain in the spot observed. Nobody who has just arrived can shoot. For this reason, fishermen with explosives keep out of each others' way.

G) Recovery:

425 Any object without a known owner which is abandoned or tossed up on the beach by the sea is the property of whoever finds it.

Any object floating in the sea is the property of whoever picks it up; and if there are several people who put their hands on it in order to hoist it onto the boat or drag it onto the beach, it, or the proceeds from it, are divided equally among all who have worked, in the last instance, among the crew and the boat owners; but a man who sees it from the sea, for example, has no right to it, as he has not helped (577) to get it on board or ashore. Work, and not vision, is rewarded.

H) Arbiters:

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554 Arbiters are men who are skilled in maritime questions and excellent mediators whose reputation, in addition to the reduced coastal limits of their tribe(s), is known and commented upon in all the villages of the neighboring tribes; and to them the inhabitants of these villages go voluntarily in order to submit their differences of opinion when these deal with matters relating to the sea.

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115 Those who had most fame in the Rifian coast were, long ago, the Ghmara, to whose ports of Taghza and Tigisas it was not uncommon

to see rival Rifian feluccas betaking themselves and respecting the verdict settled by some old seawolf, until they took over the doctrine and set up new clauses in the customary law and applied it with the same success spreading it in later times even to the Iqar'ayen; and finally one could see the Ibuqquyen going to Ajdir, submitting themselves to the arbitration of the so-called rm'addjim (Ar. m'allim), or master, who later reached the maximum position of being 'Abd al-Krim's Minister of Marine, during the Rifian War, this individual being the one who has provided me with most of the data to be found in this qanun. Among the Iqar'ayen the Ra'is Muhand n Bu Tahar of I'azzanen is well-known, and among the Ibuqquyen there is the pilot of Gardiner's yacht, l-Hadi n Dadi[117], and other old fisherman of the Aith Waryaghar and Ibuqquyen. These individuals were appealed to when the solutions of the ruyas (pl. of ra'is, or boat-masters) did not satisfy any of the parties in question.

I) Skills and Craft:

The net is an apparatus called dhrarsha. The procedure is analogous to that of Malaga, which renders its description unnecessary; the Rifians undoubtedly copied this through many trips to the latter place. I have seen it used in Badis and Qal'a Yirish, and the cut is exactly the same. The boat, called agharrabu, is a simple fishing boat; it weighs about a ton; its bow and stern are both well raised up and on a level with each other; it has two benches, a keel and a lateen sail, a mobile rudder; and it is some six meters in length. It is manned by four crew members and the master. On land, a sixth man is needed to put the cable down.

224 All areas, except for the cultivated environs of houses, saints' tombs and cemeteries, could be used for hunting; those most preferred were low hillsides, stubble-fields and threshing-floors. [621] Each jma'th, in reality, came to have its hunting boundaries or habitual hunting areas, with preferential rights. Regarding times for hunting, they had no established limitations or prohibitions. [825] Because of the facility of discovering animals or birds by their [821] tracks, Rifians prefer to hunt when the sun is strongest.....

C) Organization:

224 554 671 [443] The hunt is organized one or two days beforehand, in the suq (as this is the meeting-place of distinct villages....); and here are determined the date, place, dispositive direction and leader (mulu')[183] or major beater, an individual who is always versed in the customary law of hunting.

224 Among points decided upon here is whether the hunting is to be in company (Mor. Ar. shirka, Rifian shirxth or sharxth) or not, which means ultimately if the game collected is for the person who [578] killed it or not. Ordinarily it is agreed to be in company. This tends to avoid multiple incidents and disputes, and it is only necessary to determine whether the hunters divide up the catch or gather in someone's house to eat it. They almost always agree on the division of the catch before coming back to the village. If there is much game, the division is in terms of the number of animals or birds taken; if not, the animals or birds are cut up and the pieces distributed (r-uzi'ath) among the hunters.

104 by the Spaniards. If anyone fails to turn up to repair a ditch after
524 a storm, the fine he pays goes not to the aqunwam but to his jma'th,
[686] who buy sugar and tea with it.

000 172--"Subclans" may not be strictly accurate here as a translation, but it is better than Blanco's "fractions". Ajdir is, as aforementioned, a community of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Izan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, while the Imhawren are a subclan, in their own right, of the Aith 'Ari. The Imrabdhen are an entire clan, but in this instance only those subclansmen of the Lower Imrabdhen contiguous to the Imhawren and Ajdir were involved.

[613] 173--The references are to the lineage of the Aith 'Aru Hmid, subclan of the Imhawren, clan of the Aith 'Ari.

174--The Sultan of Morocco at this time was Mawlay 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Hisham (1822-1859).

175--It is impossible for us to infer today even the clans to which the first three men belonged, much less their lineages, because of the antiquity of the qanun (or, in this case, shahada) in question. However, Muhammad al-'Arusi was probably of the Aith 'Arus or a descendant of someone who had escaped from a feud in that mountain subclan, and 'Abdallah b. Ahmad Amhawil must have been of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari.

[554] 176--Sriman r-Khattabi of Ajdir, whom the Spaniards made the top qa'id
[648] of all the Aith Waryaghar in 1926. He held this position until 1934-
[631] 35, when, at Blanco's instigation, Waryagharland was divided into three qaidates of equal size. In 1936 he became Pasha of Villa Sanjurjo (al-Husaima), a position he held until his death in 1950.

[614] 177--Of the clan of the Aith 'Abdallah, but lineage affiliation is unspecified.

178--Both the qadi and the two 'adul can be identified as being of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

179--In Moroccan Arabic, rayah or siyada are the usual terms for "hunting"; in Rifian, however, the word is dhingmarth, while hunter is
[224] angmar, pl. ingmarn. A very summary description of Rifian hunting
[113] techniques, as practiced for the most part in the Igzinnayen, and with rifle, net or trap, is in Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 37-38; and a summary of Blanco's own data is also contained in R. P. Esteban Ibanez, "El Derecho Consuetudinario en la Sociedad Bereber", Institut International de Sociologie, XVIIIe Congrès, Nuremberg 1958, Sept. 16-17, 1958 (mimeographed).

180--This is not literally true, for like all Moroccan Muslims, Rifians are extremely fond of mutton (or even goat) tajins, or olive-oil based vegetable stews.

181--The distribution of the meat of a dead (or sacrificed) animal is called r-uzi'ath (Ar. l-wuzi'a), and every member of the jma'th is entitled to his share.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Rituals and Relatives:

A Study of the Social Uses of Wealth in Morocco

by

Roger Joseph, Jr.

Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology

University of California, Los Angeles, 1967

Professor Pedro Carrasco, Chairman

121 556 In industrial society the use of wealth to meet the needs of relatives or rituals is marginal and secondary to total expenditures. By contrast, such expenditures in a nonindustrial society may be the most important manner in which wealth is allocated. 121 556 433 Production in such societies is aimed primarily at satisfying needs arising from the activities and responsibilities induced by social and religious obligations. Distribution seeks to maintain the continuation of these activities and of the social relationships that they establish.

This study is an examination of how wealth is distributed in the Berber society of the Rif Mountains in Morocco. The fundamental feature of the Rif economy is that it is based on status. [554] The economy is one in which the deployment of resources rests primarily, though not exclusively, on imperatives derived from social factors. Exchanges, transfers, or consumption not directly

Within the ar-rba
619 there was a council (jemas) held irregularly to discuss and
[628] settle judicial matters generally pertaining to the blood feud.
[554] Only the more important families within the ar-rba had representation on the council.

613 The first social unit which is directly reflective of kin ties is the dharfiqth. Whereas tribal and ar-rba names refer to place names generally, the dharfiqth invariably carries the name of a real person, i.e. Aith Abdallah or Aith al-Qasim. The members of this group consider that they have a common agnate although they may not be able to demonstrate the genealogical linkage to this ancestor. The group theoretically includes all the sons of the founding ancestor and their offspring. Some dharfiquin seem to have increased in number and power while others grew smaller either through decimation in feuds or from splintering into rival dharfiquin. Solidarity seems to have rested mainly on sentiment, and in such an explosive atmosphere this is perhaps too fragile a mechanism for maintaining agnatic descent groups.

613 The dharfiqth is made up of a varying number of jujgu
596 which are localized patrilineal extended families which may be regarded as minimal lineages. Each ijujga consists of a man, his wife or wives, his married sons and their wives and children, along with his unmarried sons and daughters. When the referent of the ijujga dies, all his sons form separate and new jujgu. The composition of the ijujga is today an idealization since few
000 households contain the above list of relatives. Neolocality is

621 623 Each dchar has its own jemas to which all adult men are theoretically eligible. Its political powers are rather negligible at present and jemas meetings are held infrequently. The jemas meets to make decisions on the allotment of the community for the upkeep of the local mosque or to take up a local subscription to buy an animal for ceremonial purposes or to voice community feeling towards proposed projects of the provincial government. Each dchar is administered by a moqaddem who is appointed by the national government. While the appointment is made by the government it is always of a local notable, prominent and acceptable at the local level. The moqaddem may and usually does have administrative responsibility over more than one dchar. Taking again the Ibuqquyen as our example we find that four moqaddems of the fraction of Izmourin are responsible for 9 dchars, that the three of Axgar are in charge of 13 dchars, and the two of Tagidit for 14 dchars.

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Although theoretically every adult male is supposed to have a voice in the local council, in practice the younger men or the poor do not play a very active role and decisions are for the most part guided by the local notables. In traditional days, before pacification, these councils had a great deal of political power and were active in adjudicating quarrels, property settlements, and so on. Since these functions have now been assumed by officials of the Moroccan government, the council's power has been considerably reduced although its decisions still carry a moral authority of some substance.

623 [554]

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585 221 available and the weather is most propitious for holding the giant outside wedding ceremonies common in the Central Rif.

221 241 After the wedding season, the cycle resumes and with the first autumn rains the land is ploughed anew for the next crop. [461] This process begins for most men when they are but 12 or 13, and continues with monotonous regularity until they die or become too enfeebled to do the work. Perhaps it is this unending sameness [777] which contributes to some of the fatalistic beliefs held by the tribesmen.

231 Although the Berber of the Central Rif mountains is primarily an agriculturalist, he also maintains a stock of assorted animals. Most families have a herd of goats, a few sheep, and some chickens. If the household has some wealth they will also [262] have a cow and either a mule or donkey. Although livestock is not the primary food source, it is a very important secondary supply, providing milk, butter, eggs, and meat. Livestock is [556] also an important source of material and social wealth and of [554] prestige. Animals serve as reserve capital on the hoof which [471] can be converted into hard cash at the weekly market. Perhaps 231 796 most important is the ritual value of animals. While grain is vital for subsistence there is very little social significance attached to it. On the other hand, while animals are secondary to subsistence they are the essence of the ceremonial and ritual life of the Riffian. There are practically no communal events,

1965.) Not all holy men have formed brotherhoods although all founders of brotherhoods are regarded as holy men, the font of the association being the baraka possessed by its initiator. These brotherhoods generally emanated from some charismatic leader whose own brand of revelation attracted local adherents.

Once the spiritual and magical qualities of the saint have been proven, his brotherhood grows. This, of course, tends to be circular since growing membership validifies the founder's abilities. New lodges or zawiya are founded, to be administered by the holy man's more capable and loyal disciples. As the cult grows the leader, as a result of his personal mediations with Allah, pronounces a new set of spiritual techniques and strictures in addition to the usual ones followed by all adherents to Islam. A new set of practices to attain communion with God in the form of special uses of the rosaries, scarification, physical contortions and manner of praying may be introduced along with taboos on smoking, dancing or drinking coffee.

These religious associations are for the most part voluntary although there tends to be a familial association whereby a son belongs to the same lodge his father belonged to. Although they tend to be highly political there has been, to the best of my knowledge, no correlation between a particular brotherhood and a particular tribe. Perhaps the diversity of membership in competing brotherhoods reflects the fragmentation of loyalty within the tribes and fractions. At the turn of the century the Darkawiya cult was dominant in the Rif. A former member of this

792 794 575 [124] annual income may be claimed. Informants agreed that a figure of 5% of annual income might not be an inaccurate sum for a member to donate to his zariwya.

788 484 [179] Aside from these rather special claims on one's sum of wealth are the regular demands made by one's being a member of the Islamic community. Perhaps the most difficult of these obligations for the Riffian is the hadj or pilgrimage to Hijaz, Mecca, the birthplace of Mohammed, and to Medina where he died. [805] The hadj itself takes place between the seventh and the thirteenth of the twelfth month of the Muslim calendar, the Dhu 'l-Hijja. While in former days men traveled in caravans or [178] [509] by boat, the most popular form of locomotion today is Air Maroc which offers special rates during the period of the pilgrimage. Although the number of Riffians making the trip is, in any one year, not proportionately large, it is a rather significant group. [435] The investment is large, ranging from 3,000 to 6,000 dirhams, depending on the means of transportation and the time spent in [671] getting there and back. If one has a family, which is generally the case, one must (by law) leave behind enough money to provide for their expenses while the pilgrim is away. Only the older, [554] wealthier (and as a consequence most respected) Berbers can become al-Hadj, the honorific title bestowed on those who have 788 484 626 completed the journey to Mecca. The trip is not, however, completely voluntary. If a man is prominent and in the minds of the populace of the community well-off, there is a good deal of pressure placed on him, in the form of ridicule, gossip and general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage.

general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage. The authority that al-Hadj possesses is quite real and the man who feels his resources might be better deployed for profit-making enterprises will not carry this authority within the community. If a man wishes to maintain a position of prominence in the Rif and is fifty years or older, it is practically mandatory for him to travel to Mecca.

While the hadj does not affect all the Rif economically the ceremony of the Great Feast or Aid al-Kebir which is held all over the Muslim world on the tenth day of Dhu 'l-Hijja has a universal application. On this date every family head must sacrifice a ram to commemorate God's beneficence in allowing Abraham to sacrifice a lamb in the stead of his son Ishmael.

The month preceding this ceremony is one of intense anxiety for the poor, for they must acquire either the animal or the money by which to get one. Many of the Riffians have a stock of animals from which they can select the sacrificial ram. Those who do not must rely on their wealthier sponsors, either relatives or business associates. The price of rams spirals upwards as the day of Aid al-Kebir approaches, reaching its climax the day before the celebration. Men who normally earn a subsistence wage in Alhucemas or Targuist begin to spend more time among their relatives in the countryside as they attempt to reinforce their communal support within the traditional cultural setting. In many ways the celebration is comparable to Christmas in Christian countries, except that the expenses

754 791 789 793 433 wares in public, while the fqihs are busily selling their charms in the seclusion of the tea and hashish shops that ring the same market.

To the best of my knowledge Justinard was the first to describe the phenomenon in the Rif:

> Les Rifains croient beaucoup aux amulettes et aux sortilèges, aux pratiques occultes qui servent à nuire à un ennemi, à le faire mourir, à forcer l'amour, à obtenir une guérison. C'est surtout l'affaire des Telbas [fqih] et des vieilles femmes (1926:57).

791 754 789 435 The costs of the services of such magical specialists vary with the seriousness of the difficulty. Women generally pay in kind since they have such meager resources at their disposal. Men usually pay cash. A love potion may cost no more than a liter of olive oil or a dime. Prolonged medical healing may [755] require several thousand dirhams and accommodation for the sorcerer in food and lodging over a lengthy period of time. One [755] of my informants kept a pair of magicians in his house for six months in an attempt to restore his mother's eyesight. Another informant, a woman who herself was regarded as having supernatural power, estimated that she had spent the equivalent of fifty dollars over a decade to ward off various evil eyes. The magi- [554] cians of the Rif are, however, not known for their potency and for special problems, magicians or holy men are imported from the Ghomara or the Sus.

[755] As can be seen from the above, much magic is devoted to 000 curing illness. Most sickness is attributed to evil spirits,

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556 Within each Riffian community there are individuals and families of differential social status. This differentiation is only partially based on wealth. Such factors as religious piety, descent, reputation and personal integrity also play a role. Prior to the pacification of the Rif skill in warfare and bravery were also markers. For the moment I shall discuss differentiation based on wealth.

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423 The most important traditional measure of wealth was, and is today, property ownership. The more land one has, the larger a crop one shall harvest and the greater reserves one can put aside for winter fodder. A consequence is the larger number of animals one can maintain and hence the more elaborate one's ritual activities and the greater assistance one can give relatives, neighbors, and friends.

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428 While large landholdings have a positive value in the Rif, such a goal is rather difficult to achieve because of the inheritance laws. Inheritance is based on the Maliki practice which divides the land amongst the heirs. Each son is allocated a full share and each daughter a half share. The widow (or widows) each receive an eighth of the property. In the absence of sons, the estate is divided so that the widow receives her eighth, while the remainder of the property is divided into three shares with the daughter(s) receiving two shares and the father's brother one share. If there are no children, the estate is divided among the brothers.

556 request and frequency of demand, the better-off families have
576 the social obligation of providing for any itinerant traveler,
574 whether he be teacher, student, or pilgrim. The exchange is, of course, not one-sided. By providing for men engaged in religious pursuits one enhances one's own piety and reputation within the community. The travelers also provide sources of news and gossip and on occasion religious instruction.

556 An analogous obligation which involves persons within the
554 community rather than strangers is that of the protector. In
571 modern times this has meant that certain prominent men in each Berber community have the social duty of acting as intermediary between the people of the community and the external government, or in effect between the fellah and the Caid. Caids, as the most
631 immediate representatives of the Moroccan state at the local
692 level, are given certain judicial powers. They can adjudicate marketplace disturbances such as thievery or fighting. They can have any man in their district brought in by the soldiers assigned to them. They can assess fines and imprison a man for up to five days without a judicial hearing (sentences of longer duration can only be assessed by the secular qadi in Alhucemas
631 or Targuist). If judicial action of this sort is taken against
692 a member of the community his family will go to a prominent local
556 man. By making presents of goods or animals to this man, he is
554 placed in the position of protector and is under traditional
571 obligation to intercede on behalf of the petitioners. This form of mutual support between local lords and the community was much

631 692 556 554 571 more dramatic in the days of blood feuding when the same mechanism was used to acquire allies. The interference of a locally prominent man is generally efficacious since government representatives attempt to minimize local hostility. An open confrontation between a local lord and a state representative generally leads to the dismissal of the latter. In neither of the two locations where I spent extended periods of time did the caid stay in office while I was there. In one of the two fractions the caid changed three times. The balance of political power is weighted towards the locally prominent, for the lords of the old bled-as-siba represent the highest rung of the informal but powerful traditional structure of leadership while the caids and pashas represent the lowest level of the other form of government, the formal bureaucracy.

641 648 556 619 The national government is well aware of the actual dual organization of political power in the country. While every Moroccan may have equal status based on constitutional law, he does not have equal status in terms of customary law. This social fact is exemplified by the ceremonies held in Rabat where dignitaries from all across Morocco are called upon to attend such celebrations as the King's birthday, Aid al-Kebir, or the promulgation of a new law. On such occasions, depending upon the size of the tribe or fractions, one, two, or three men who represent the traditional power structure are royally commanded to be in attendance. Such meetings are ritualized reenactments of the loyalty of the populace as expressed through its local leadership.

452 en a quite different system with its own ideology than that which obtains in an industrial society or even among urban Moroccans. In an industrial society credit is based on tangibles, on some form of material good which has roughly an equivalent value to the loan. In the Rif the majority of transactions involving the 452 554 extension of credit are guaranteed by a personal and intangible factor, one's social status and prestige. A man's reputation, the social credits he has accumulated, the ones his father and grandfather established, are his most valuable assets. A man who has established such social credit can draw on financial resources much broader than those available to the man without it. Because he supports the integrity of the community, he can draw on the community reserve with no greater guarantee than his word. One man, a quite humble fellah, financed his son's wedding with three loans, of $150 apiece, from a brother, the son of a deceased brother, and a friend. He was able in this manner to hold a wedding ceremony of considerable elegance with over five hundred guests. In another case, in which a young man wished to marry against his father's wishes, he could find almost no financing within the community except from returning migrant labor youths. Among this latter class the traditional ideology has [177] [464] been diluted by the industrial experience. These migrants have introduced a certain amount of novelty, especially in the material culture. Whether they shall also exert an influence in traditional social relationships and modes of social organization remains to be seen.

454 Just as acquiring the capital for an investment has its own distinct forms, the actual investment itself appears to be motivated more often than not by social incentive rather than by profit. Aside from such investments as were mentioned in Chapters 3 and 4, we encounter investments which have, from the standpoint of industrial ideology, a more utilitarian aspect. 231 Thus, an extra mule or an ox can raise the level of productivity 454 of its owner. What more often occurs, however, is that in the 433 case of such prestige-laden animals, their effect is primarily 554 in the role of prestige and only secondarily in production. Perhaps the most dramatic representation of such investment are the animals which are purchased during the summer months. It is during this period that traveling is at its optimum, and owners leave their newly acquired livestock grazing conspicuously along the roadside for the public to observe. Unfortunately, work animals serve almost no productivity function during the summer months. With the commencement of winter, fodder supplies decrease and it becomes necessary to sell the extra animal before it can be put to a utilitarian purpose.

256 Another example of the primacy of the social incentive is 435 the business of milling. The turbine wheel mill powered by water 472 is one of the few nonagricultural enterprises which the fellah [376] engage in. The operation of a mill in the Rif bears little resemblance to the operations of a firm as a profit-making organization. In the first instance, cost for the service of a mill is not determined by any market factor, but by custom. The owner of

675 commercial transactions in an industrial society, legal surety in the Rif tends to be based on prestige, reputation, and status. Rights, privileges, duties, immunities, and liabilities are mostly non-contractual (excluding land titles and marriage documents). 675 466 464 Thus working associations between the wealthier and poorer men of the community, whereby a laborer who provides all the work on another man's piece of property and receives one-fifth of the crop, are always verbal agreements. Likewise, agreements over such a critical area as water rights, including the rotation of rights of irrigation, are exclusively verbal. Partnerships, pledges, leases, warranties and so forth are rarely 'paperized' but based, rather, on verbal agreement.

In this chapter I have attempted to demonstrate how the 556 554 182 183 (128) social and cultural configuration of Berber existence affects the accumulation and distribution of wealth. Among the Riffians wealth as an abstract has little meaning. Wealth gains significance when it is an attribute of prestige (although prestige does not depend entirely on wealth). Prestige is gained from living by the code of the community and fulfilling one's obligations to the community. Those who fulfill such obligations have political prestige both in the realm of the Berber community and outside it. A direct consequence of this is that profit as a system of motivation has little operative or analytic value in determining what happens to material goods. Resources are not 'free'; they cannot be allocated in a social vacuum to obtain maximum financial rewards. On the contrary, resources are socially 'bound' by

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the fact that the society disapproves of any action which disrupts the solidarity of the community.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

He can get credit in the local shops on the basis of his reputation. Here he can consult relatives and friends, settle petty disputes, arrange marriages and sell property. His ties to the marketplace do not depend on "improved communication" but on a whole series of both economic and noneconomic involvements with the local market.

What is the nature then of this local market? I shall try to arrive at a picture of the common elements of all <u>suqs</u> of the Rif, although there will be slightly different elements or emphasis in each specific <u>suq</u>. As Bourrilly comments, "L'importance de ces souks varie naturallement avec l'importance des régions qu'ils desservent, de la clientèle qu'ils attirent, des zones de production dont ils sont le débouché" (1932:211). Still, after spending many weary days in such places one cannot help but sympathize with Albéniz: "Visto y descrito uno cualquiera de ellos, están vistos y descritos los demás" (1930:118).

Most of the markets are walled-in enclosures with only one or two openings, assuring the collection of market taxes. They are ideally located near a source of water so that animals can drink. Special places outside the walls are allocated for the quartering of mules and donkeys. Inside the market are rows of permanent structures, either small shops or cafes. On a non-market day the site will be deserted except for a few soldiers assigned to each market and a few tribesmen, sitting inside the canteens drinking tea.

/296 cont./

175 against the Christians, the amghars, aided by the marabouts, try
721 to take back the power that escapes them; it is they who will
634 direct the revolt of 1924, which for a time will threaten the work
648 of the Riffian chief. Defeated in that supreme endeavor, they
669 will perish, the majority by poison or in the dungeons of Ajdir and Tamassint.

634 In spite of the real power that the amghars of the Rif can
554 succeed in obtaining, their authority nevertheless remains pre-
182 carious. Based entirely on force, born amidst the conflict of
578 unstable leffs, deprived of the support of oligarchic traditions, it exists only very rarely after the disappearance of the one who created it. The hostile forces directed by the anarchic clans and the marabouts rapidly stop their endeavor. The social material appears too rebellious; so the rough outline of personal power remains unfinished; the amghar succeeds in asserting himself only in his canton of origin; we do not see him succeed anywhere, by the force of his power alone, in breaking the narrow frontiers of the fraction, /297/ the boundaries of a leff, and in conquering a true
[721] tribe. ʿAbd el Kerim alone in this region, carried by other forces,
[648] will succeed, thanks to the enthusiasm of the holy war, in establishing a powerful domination and in founding for a time a true Berbère /Berber/ state.

000 XIII. The chiefs of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. -- Masqueray has studied well the difficult conditions in which the authority of the soff chief whose ambition is to conquer supreme power in his tribe can develop in Kabylie /Kabylia/. The political state of the villages of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/, divided into two hostile parties, almost always balanced, but which are ceaselessly renewed and do not have the permanence of the leffs of the Masmouda, is no more favorable than the anarchic Rif for the establishment of a strong and stable personal power.

Nevertheless the analogies between the Kabylie /Kabylia/ and the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ remain numerous. Rich and brave, the future amghar in the Djurjura begins by being only the head of a family or of a soff. When his party wins, it remains for him to have his effective superiority accepted by the members of

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631 of the tribes of the vicinity, ᶜAbd el Kerim can easily tame the
669 revolts of the Rif fomented by the minor amghars of the Ghomara,
648 /403/ jealous of the development of his power; soon he completes his successes by the conquest of the Jbel and makes his rival Raisouli perish in prison.

175 Four years sufficed to make of the son of the cadi of Ajdir the
631 independent Sultan of the north of Morocco, who keeps the
•554 armies of Spain at bay; carried away by his ambition, by the en-
[648] thusiasm and cupidity of his entourage, ᶜAbd el Kerim then dreams for an instant of conquering the towns of the Maghreb and becoming master of all the Mussulmans of Morocco, whose eyes turn toward him with growing admiration. Indeed, each day that passes increases his prestige; he becomes, in the eyes of western Islam, a new Moustapha /Mustafa/ Kemal; his name is known from the Indies to America, and people follow his victories and projects with a passionate interest; the large countries of Europe are stirred up by the importance that he is acquiring and, according to their interests, secretly desire his success or hope for his ruin.

175 A few weeks of well-directed military efforts moreover suffice
631 to get rid of the "Riffian State." But the conditions under which
182 this Berbère /Berber/ kingdom, so rapidly built up and at the same
648 time so fragile, suddenly collapses enable us to see its internal structure clearly.

During the first phase of the war, the struggle between the Rif, France, and Spain was carried on to the boundary of the tribes conquered and governed by the Beni Ouriaghel; so the efforts of two large modern armies remained in vain because the members of the Riffian Makhzen /makhzan/ always succeeded in constraining all the populations of the mountains of the north of Morocco to continue the holy war, the "jihad," without sparing their forces; but when the territory of the Beni Ouriaghel itself is threatened, the warriors of ᶜAbd el Kerim's tribe all abandon at the same time their external commands in the tribes of the Jbala and the Wergha in order to come to defend their own homes; the grip exerted by the tribal brothers of the "Sultan of the Rif" on all the small